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Tributes to Mr. Lajpat Rai

By

Oswald Garrison Villard

Dudley Field Malone

Pethick Lawrence

Norman Thomas

Poem by

Mayce Seymour

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To Lajpat Rai

By MARCE SEMOUR.

Each day our freedom must be freshly claimed;
It is no gift bestowed, but the price we win
With the full measure of working and devotion:
It lives, and like the temple of the dawn
Must be renewed with shafts of living fire;
It is an outward-reaching awe of life,
With roots of strength deep in our human souls,
And branches nesting God's eternal desires.

They were brave hearts who roamed on exile path
The wintry seas, long centuries ago,
To seek asylum for their liberties—
Their day is past; yet still, lest we should lose
Our voices and our quest, they come and come,
Seekers of freedom, followers of the given
From every shore poisoned by tyranny,
Or deadened by the arrogance of might,
They come, the fearless hearts, the brave minds,
The tested wills, the dedicated lives,
To raise our faltering hope, restore our vision,
And link our frail wills to a deathless cause.

There is one destiny, and that mankind's,
There is one good, the common good of all,
One fellowship, in which each race and state
Are names of yours, one dome of liberty.
Building forever by dedicated spirit
In answer to God's gift of boundless life



Lajpat Rai

Tributes To Mr. Rai

Address By Edmund Perceve At the Dinner of the League of Oppressed Peoples.—November 26, 1919.

As stated in our January number, three hundred diners were given to Mr. Lajpat Rai in New York, all of which were reported briefly in this issue. The address delivered at the dinner given by the League of Oppressed Peoples, at the Hotel des Artistes, on November 26, was so interesting and important that we print them below nearly in full.

The Chair was taken by Mr. Dudley Field Malone, ex-Ambassador Secretary of State, and Collector of the Port of New York, who after a brief address introduced Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of the New York Nation, as Treasurer of the evening.

Mr. Dudley Field Malone

As Chairman of the League of Oppressed Nations, I greet you tonight. My function is very simple and I shall make it a very brief one. It is, with deep personal regret that I say to the guest of the evening, welcome and farewell. Every time I have met Mr. Rai and grasped his hand and looked into the smile of his eyes I have said to myself, how the same thrill that ran through the blood of any American who had the fortune to shake the hand of Polak or Katsaris or Kowalew or Kowatz. And so tonight I want to send to you a very simple thought, expressed in language simple to us which I could command, which Kowatz spoke when he came to this coun-

try and talked in Federal Hall, cradle of American liberty. It has a great name, but there is something in it which makes my heart: "You should not say 'American liberty,'" said he, "you should say 'Liberty in America.' Liberty should not be called American or European; it should be just Liberty. God is God, He is neither America's God nor Europe's God,—He is God. So should liberty be. American liberty has much the sound as if you would say American privilege. And there is the rub. Look up history and when your heart aches at the fact that liberty never yet was lasting in any corner of the world and in any age, you will find the key of it in the gloomy truth that all who yet were free regarded liberty as their privilege instead of regarding it as a principle."

My fellow-citizens I can imagine no thought more valuable to its presentation to the people of America today than the thought that if America is to preserve any of its freedom it must not only have a consciousness of freedom at home, but a rebirth of the spirit of freedom for people everywhere, and tonight you have come together to say, I hope, a brief farewell to a man who loves liberty above all else, who loves his people and his country and the freedom of his people and his country, and who, happily for them—and, I trust, for him—is going back to them.

You are honored tonight as having as your Chairman a man with few

peers in America, as standing up and speaking straight for the change which our made America great. I know as a younger man, when I had standards of spiritual devotion, that this great editor helped me in my formative years to have faith in the country—which under all sorts of obstacles I still have. I beg to present to you this supreme hour of liberty and free American action, Oswald Garrison Villard.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard

There is an old and misleading adage which runs, "There is no's face in open danger." I am afraid we are going to disagree our guest of honor a good deal tonight, because we know that there is something more than danger in putting a man who has set his hands to the fairly heavy and is willing to show it, on what it may, and this our guest of honor has been doing and is ready to do, and as we talk here of how tonight we must express at least our appreciation of what he has done and our appreciation of his bravery as going back to the place where he thinks that his patriotic duty calls him to go. We can only assure him that wherever he goes we are going to follow him and, as far as we can, watch over him and his destiny, we can only give him the assurance, and at any time he should have need of our help, he may count upon it without reservation.

If I should characterize him it would be in these words: A wise, brave and most unhesitating; a generous and modest interpreter of great races to our American democracy; a profound student of human liberties, with a heart responsive to the upward aspirations of mankind in every clime. That's the

man we are honoring tonight. And I want to give you just one other pledge, Mr. Rai, and that is that you may be sure we shall not only follow your movements, but although you will have left us we shall not be forgetting India; if anything, we shall be working harder for what you have so much at heart.

Now, for Americans to oppose the cause of India is not such an easy thing, because I feel that one is open to misinterpretation and misunderstanding. Of course you are all, I have no doubt, fully aware that to express a wish for the betterment of conditions in India today is to mark yourself clearly as a pro-German. There is no other possible explanation, but if there is another explanation it is that you are hostile to England, that you hate England or you have got a grudge against England, some kind of a grievance, and that is the only other reason which can explain your wanting to ascertain in the narrow confines of England to put in India is difficult. Well, it is difficult; we do not want to seem to mistake in the domestic concerns of our mother nation, and yet we have a duty laid upon us all to work out for human liberty under all conditions, wherever the need may be.

Now, I have thought that I would take just a few minutes in reading to you the opinions about India as in England, to show you that we are not altogether without good English precedents. In fact, that reminds one of the great misapprehensions about the Indian situation, that there is a growing public influence in England in favor of doing the right thing by India. If that did not exist we should, indeed, have very little hope for better things so long as

the bulk of the English people consider that the way to govern India is to govern her by military autocratic force.

There was a great Englishman sixty years ago, more than half a century ago—and it seems to me that if we Americans have to apologise for taking up India we can do nothing better than to say that we put ourselves upon the platform of Richard Cobden, the man with the international mind—and here is one of the things that he said, in 1832: "If God really rules the world, as I sincerely believe He does, upon the principle of a self-acting retributive justice, then British wrongs in India and China involve a serious reckoning with us or our children. And certainly the day of reckoning will come!"

And then a few years later he wrote: "Can we play the game of fraud, violence and oppression in Asia without feeling our national conscience injured at home?"

And then he wrote something like this, which we wouldn't have been allowed to read in America a year and a half ago, even though we might just be quoting Richard Cobden: "We shall do no good until we can bring home to the convention and consciousness of men the fact that, as in the slave-trade we English had engaged in upon the whole world, so in foreign wars we have been the more aggressive, more cruel, warlike and bloody nation under the sun. If the people can see justice show that their government has been at fault—that their native country have been prevented in bad purposes by the ruling classes for their own advantage—I am sure that the fact is shown, and

will win repentance and amendment follow we shall, as a nation, be so corrected to the divine law that they who rule the world shall punish by the sword!"

And now more. He said, in 1832: "I have got news from India. That blood-cursed office will not stay even in this house of cards." And then he brought out the fact that the whole revenue of India in 1830 amounted to only 20,225,000 pounds, and that presently—I think the same is the case to-day—more than half of that amount went to the army and navy, and there were in them the following Europeans: "30,000 Queen's troops, 20,000 European troops, 5,000 or 6,000 civil employees of the India Company. The number of Europeans residing in British India who are not in the service of the Queen in that capacity is 10,000, male and female. Only 317 Europeans reside in the interior of British India engaged in agriculture or manufactures." And then he went on and made his great appeal, year in and year out, for not only the day of justice to India, but for the removal and termination of English rule at the earliest possible time. And so I think we have called a good authority. Of course, there were many others who stood up with Cobden and from that day to this they have pleaded for the freedom of India. We have good authority for the stand we have taken.

Now, to show you that Mr. Rai's arguments have been international and that men of various nations and men are here to wish him Godspeed, on his mission, I am going to call upon various gentlemen, and a lady, for five-minute speeches.

Miss Sourney Tcheng

It is with great pleasure that I attend this dinner. I feel it a privilege to take part in honoring the great Indian orator, Mr. Rai. He has done good work for his country; he has worked for the liberation of his own countrymen from an alien rule that has become intolerable. There may be danger for him to go back to India now, but, as we have a power in China, "unless you enter the tiger's den, you cannot hope to obtain the tiger's skin." I remember that at the time of the Chinese revolution in 1911 an Indian society in Peking sent to Dr. Sun Yat Sen a message of congratulation. In reply Dr. Sun said, "The death of liberty which is burning now in China sheds its light upon far-off India." It is to be hoped that this light will become more powerful and purer one day. When alien rule had become odious in China, we drove a self and learned a government of our own. I think India, too, should have the right to determine its own form of government. India helped China greatly by giving us the beautiful teaching of Buddha. In return, China now wishes to free country to our goal of freedom. Still I repeat the plea which Dr. Sun, "The march of liberty sheds its light upon far-off India."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence

I do not think I was ever more glad to be an Englishman than I am to-day, and the reason why I am glad is that I think it is of supreme importance that England should be represented here on this occasion. It is one of the latest notions that persons make of chasing a

whole people together and wanting to hang them with one rope. There is no one England, there are many Englishs, and the government which is at present governing our country is very readily losing the support of every nation of the English people—and personally, I disagree with my government on almost every considerable subject, except one, and that one is that in last my government has come to the conclusion that it would be a desirable thing for my friend, Mr. Rai, to go back to India. I agree with my government on that, because I recognize, and I know that the government does, too, that Mr. Rai is a statesman compared with whom very few are equal.

Now, I have talked with Mr. Rai upon what I would like to see happen in India, and what he wishes to happen seems to me not only extremely sound and true, but so far as I know the English Labor Party, who may very likely be in power in England before very many months are out, what he wants to see in India will have in every detail their whole-hearted support and sympathy, and if they are the government, it will mean a great deal more than their help and support—they will actually help him to carry it into effect. But Mr. Rai is a statesman and he sees rightly, I think, that evolution is always better than revolution. He knows, I imagine, quite well, as I do, that liberty can never be given,—liberty must always be taken, that those who want liberty must create certain conditions with talk,—they must change us. Nevertheless, the most potent action is not violence, but suffering. Now, I know quite well that a great country like In-

do, with more than 300,000,000 millions of people, can certainly not its freedom whenever it chooses to take it. I know quite well that our government in my country can prevent the Indian people, if they are sufficiently determined, from winning their freedom. But they can win their freedom in more than one way: they can win freedom for themselves and they can win freedom in their own hands at the same time, but Mr. Rajput Rai, as I understood him, and the whole people in my country would rather see India *not* free—*who is it for herself*, was it by *somebody*—win freedom and win friendship at the same time, and friendship in her heart and friendship in our heart.

Mr. Lester Kitcheson, whose book "Appearance" was written after going around the world and learning, I think many of you who read it will agree with me, not of the profound judgments about the world, and that he regarded not Japan, not even China, but India as the *spiced East* and England and America as the *spiced West*. Now, friendship between the East and the West cannot be based upon a relationship of master and servant; it can only be based upon equality and understanding and sympathy and faith. We of the West, I believe—I do not think it in accordance with our part to say so—have a great deal to give to our friends of the East, but also at the same time our friends in the East have something to give us without which our life is poor indeed, and what I look forward to seeing is a marriage of the East and the West, a marriage that will give birth to an offspring which will be a blessing to the world.

Mr. B. S. Karnat

Speaking about Indian opinion, I could hardly assure you that, whatever may be the political party to which a man in India belongs, the feeling about Mr. Rai is that he is incapable of any crime against the government. I believe admission of disportation without trial must be considered nothing but orders in Council, and the present raising of this charge, as to speak, on Mr. Rai, is in me a clear conviction that he is to go back to his country free from any taint of disloyalty. Certainly the large gathering of American people of high distinction that I saw around me tonight is proof positive that his behavior while in this country is greatly to his honor and to the honor of India. Speaking of American opinion, your Chairman just referred to some of the fact that it was wrong to interfere with the external problems of England. Surely it is a very difficult matter for our nation to try into the concerns of another nation, but I believe England herself has been looking into the internal questions of other countries, on the ground that the spirit of liberty is a world spirit. If that is so, if England is justified in that, in looking into the concerns of another nation, it is my opinion that America is also justified in looking into the concerns of England with a friendly eye, not as a hostile critic of England, but as a sympathetic friend and ally of England, and we shall always value and appreciate whatever you think of England as her concerns regarding India.

After all, the admission of India has to the hands of India, as one of the questions has said, and we, the Indian people, are determined to work for our own sake.

men as the most conventional statesmen.

Let me frankly tell you, Mr. Chatterjee, that your remark that you will watch the career and aims of Mr. Rai after he leaves your hospitable shores has troubled me, and I am delighted to find that the American hearts are indeed so as whatever we do for our own salvation. If Mr. Rai's exit to the country has been a matter of discomfort to him, or any one he has this satisfaction, that he carries from this land of liberty a certain spirit, a certain enthusiasm cherished by his way here, which will stand to us and to him and to his country in very good stead when he goes back to his own dear native land.

Professor Arthur Pope

(After making some general observations upon Americanism and the results of the war, Prof. Pope proceeded as follows):

I want to tell you briefly something of the background of Mr. Rajput Rai's career and why we delight to honor him here and give a little echo of the honor which he has been in a large measure abroad. I want to remind you of one or two things which in the darkness and silence and long distance you do not know, because of those conditions and because the actual conditions have been sootied as well and formal philosophy. The white man's burden has been not a burden of power or good-will, serving as individuals have carried it out, but it has been a program of cruelty, of oppression, of debasement and of robbery that passes belief. Let me remind you of just two or three things that have happened in India as the result of 190 years of unqualified Christian rule.

(He gave some very telling figures

and facts from British official records about Indian famines, land taxes, education, diseases, Bombay Riots and the recent disturbances in the Punjab, which we omit here for want of space.)

This is the culmination of imperialism—always greedy, always dishonest, always cruel and always unscrupulous; and it was fighting against such a monstrous procedure which Rajput Rai and his fellow-passengers saw, that they began to reject the dominant ideas of the nineteenth century and do things as they could, and with some measure of freedom. It was a terribly discouraging task—the people divided, kept in ignorance, weak and sick and lawless—reaction, with the English agents encouraging and fanning religious hatred between them, a matter of fact which I could prove if challenged. This was what they faced.

About 1900, thanks to many untold agonies and brutalities in the administration of the law in the Punjab, the process was getting famous. Mr. Rai, at that time believed of all people throughout the length and breadth of India, was a very dangerous man; they would believe him certainly—and to what lengths might they not follow him? The Government thought to get him out of the way, so they looked up his career. They could not find the slightest shadow of any treason of the law. They dug up an old law, of 1814 (An Obsolete Regulation), and according to that the Government might arrest and detain without trial. They couldn't get him on any breach of the law, so on this antiquated and otherwise misused legislation they arrested him one day on his way to the court and hurried him out of the country; and let it be said on the chance however of Lord Morley that

he wanted to then, and that shame cannot be wiped out from his otherwise glorious career—the things that he said, did and accomplished at that time. It couldn't be. Lajpat Rai, a man of upright and lofty character, who always worked to the open, that he should be so treated wounded all India. After six months they had to let him go, and he returned to India a heroism he was before, so he is now, and so he will be when he returns.

Whether as religious reformer, as an educational reformer, as a poor relief, as an orator, as a political work, wherever he was dealing with human or with institutions, he kept his head, he kept his courage, and he kept his patience, and he is now one of those that India delights to know. Mr. Rai, the hours of exile have now closed for you, and although it has been, as all miles count for, bitter, still you are now happy to return. Now your grandchildren await your coming. You have seen so much misery and hardship, with hatred, with enmity, with all manner of evils of war affecting us. Remember us at our best, as we remember you as now faithful to your own ideals, who counselled wisely and fairly and manly, who believed in the wisdom of truth and knowledge, and with care and with accuracy and dependable word exhibited us America the noble and the hopes of your country. We do follow you, now and always, with loving and affectionate interest, and whatever happens we shall watch and, maybe, we shall act.

Dr. Norman Thomas

It seems to me that the introduction has already been pronounced and that the best I can do is to utter a man of

seven-fold Amen, which I shall try to make as loud as I can. I am glad, Mr. Rai, to express a certain personal debt to you for helping me, and with me many Americans, to learn certain lessons that are much needed to learn. You have helped us first to learn what all imperialism leads to at home. We have been too inclined to take this imperialism as that—German imperialism is more often imperialism—and forget this imperialism that is our own. You have helped us much, because, after all, English imperialism in India has a certain kind of queer, distorted relation of its own. If England has failed in her imperialism in India, let us be content that in America no man will ever succumb to any kind of imperialism. You have helped us to learn that thing, and those who have admired your efforts to fight the causes of English imperialism in India have been conscious of many friendships and charities as fostering humanism at studies in America, and with all attempts that go anywhere to enhance the will of one people as one class or one race upon another, you have helped us to learn that the thing to be fought is not English imperialism or German imperialism, but the power that seeks expression in the lust for money and the benefit of a few. You have reminded us of how much the European races have done and how much they have yet to do in brotherhood with the men of Africa and of Asia, and for that we thank you with our hearts.

And tonight you have done a thing which you have done also before. You have told us that it was possible in the East for men to transcend the fact that they have a right to feel against the im-

perial and the arrogant West. I beg you, Mr. Rai, to go back with some joy to your heart for those who style themselves masters. Behold the whole world. They have looted a over Africa and over Asia, and they have looted us too. Behold us who call ourselves masters in the world and yet are not free! Behold us, the despots of ancient civilization, who have despoiled our own selves, whose own consciences stare upon the backs of the nations! How can we be free until we learn that rapacity and imperialism are one and that our freedom can only come when men for all we are done with the notion that any class or any group is called by God or by creed to live on any man's toil in the world. You have helped us to learn that, Mr. Rai.

And you are no broken, our own darkest ideals shattered. You are we who learn ourselves the masters of the world in the dawn of day that we share Man-

ner women and children because of a dread horror of something we call Hinduism that is upon us. You are we in the dawn of day because a few men have not been deported. You are we in the dawn of day that we tremble at things that are not; in the dawn of day and greed that we have pulled down our own civilization with our own hands, and still we pose as masters!

Try on, then, as you go back. Go back with a joy for all of humanity, for unless we get freedom together we should never again want freedom unless men of all races can begin again to struggle for their liberty in which there is no race and no class and no dominion of one man over another, then we are all doomed together, and the experience of mankind on the planet that men call the earth is the experience of hell. It need not be. Help us, you of the East, to find the better way.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Address

I really do not know how to thank you adequately for all the good things you have said of me. You have overwhelmed me with kindness and have paid compliments which are too flattering to be accepted at their full value. I take them as the measure of your interest in my country, of your sympathy with our cause, and of your desire to see that justice and democracy are established all the world over. I am sure my countrymen of all religions, creeds, classes and parties will very much appreciate today and on various occasions before you have said and done for India.

Five years ago I landed in New York, without any intention of staying here so long and without any idea of starting the work, which circumstances and your kindness made it possible for me to undertake in 1910, on my return from Japan. In 1914 I came here as a student and a student eager to see your great and beautiful country and to study its noble institutions. As a child and as a young man I was led on the belief that America was the land of all the glories of the world, where equality, liberty and fraternity reigned and where the people were inspired by good will and friendship for all the peoples of the

much without distinction of colour, creed, and caste. When I came here for the first time in 1906 I was a bit shocked by poor treatment of the Niggers but otherwise I went back convinced in my admiration for America and her constitution. When I returned in November 1914, my chief purpose was to compare America in India, with a view to moulding the latter to similar lines such of the American ideas and ideals as were likely to help her as her opposition towards England, and in her efforts towards national efficiency. For about eight months I travelled all over the United States, North, South, East and West, and wrote a book for the use of my countrymen embodying the results of my study. The book was published in India in 1916, and no paper was my people to know all about America that even in that land of literacy, finance, pleasure, and dramatic poverty, the first edition was sold out in less than four months. From the United States I proceeded to Japan and studied its institutions, and wrote about that marvelous country and its phenomenal success. While in Japan, receiving information of how Indians of independent political views, specially those returning from America and Japan, were being crossed by the British Government of India, I lost no time in making up my mind as returns to the United States. It was possible for me to do so because the United States had not yet entered the war and the Espionage Act and other laws curtailing the right to travel, had not been enacted. On returning to America, I at once made up my mind what to do. I assumed the function of an Indian Statesman Ambassador to America, whose duty was to inform the

American public about the confusion in India, in assuming that function I learned how important American influence was destined to be in the affairs of the world and how difficult and unpalatable was the task I was undertaking considering my own meagre accomplishments and slender resources. On the principle of something better than nothing, however, I started work, relying more on poor resources and co-operation than on my ability.

The first thing I did was to prepare my book "Young India" for the Press. In this connection I am going to give out a secret about the publication of the book, as it was once and in the House of Commons, that the book had been published with German money and that I was subverted by the German Imperial Government. There was not an iota of truth in either of these statements. The facts are that in 1914, when I was busily revising the manuscript, about 5000 (five hundred dollars) were placed at my disposal by one of my countrymen, to use the book through. The man did not read the manuscript. If he had read it, perhaps he would have been helped in publication, as it was no more complimentary to the party to which he belonged. This fact he discovered only after the book was out in October 1916, more than a year after he gave me the money. Out of the sum I spent about 5000 (one hundred dollars) in getting the manuscript typed and the balance of 5000 (five hundred dollars) with the manuscript, I made out to Professor Pope, then of the University of California (now with us here), who was a strong patriot at the time, to arrange for its printing. Professor Pope met me the

manuscript to a privately published at once in New York asking for its publication. The gentleman handed a note to Mr. Husbach. Mr. Husbach got it read, and generally approved by a noted English scholar at that time teaching in a Canadian University, and eventually published it on the understanding that I purchase three hundred copies with the money which Professor Pope had been entrusted with for the purpose. The book was so favourably received and reviewed by the American Press including the *New York Times*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *New Republic*, that the first edition (which was a small one) was soon exhausted. In the same time my second book, "England's Debt to India," was ready and this was published by Mr. Husbach on similar terms. Short then I have published other books also.

As we came before on sharing the war did I place my faith in the highland of India getting any help from Germany towards her freedom. When I arrived in New York in November 1914 I found that some of my countrymen in the country were banking on the success of Germany. I argued the matter with them and refused to have anything to do with any movement which would place India in the power of Germany. As we came very large and sweeping offers were made me through one of my countrymen to sign the proclamation of Indian independence which was proposed to be driven from everywhere on the sands of Indian Expeditionary Forces in France. I declined to do this. I gave this in a part of information for what it is worth.

During the war in common with other thinking men and women I was

in constant danger of being "put out of the way." In fact some of my friends expressed their surprise at the latitude which I enjoyed in writing and speaking about British rule in India.

I now take pleasure in paying a tribute of gratitude back to the American Government and American people for the courtesy and kindness I have enjoyed at home during my stay in this country. From the efforts I have invariably received courtesy and from the people in general, hospitality and kindness, amounting to generosity. The Liberal and Radical press of the country has been extremely generous and considerate towards me. Even the *New York Times* allowed me much space at first, but when this was dropped on it dropped me and would not even let me contradict things said against me in its columns. At this stage it was Mr. Vahid who with his innate sense of fair play and justice came to my rescue. To me, sir, I and my country owe a debt of gratitude which can never repay. You gave me opportunities of putting the case for India before the American public at a time when no other paper was prepared to risk doing so. If the *New York Evening Post* has been on the whole very fair to India it is due to the policy of this play initiated by you when still at the helm of that paper. I definitely remember the night of despair which I entered when one of the contacts in the *Evening Post*, to whom I carried a letter of introduction from Prof. Salpman of Columbia, unconsciously and rather curtly told me how impossible it was for his paper to take up the case of India so long as the war was on. For several months after that I made no attempt to try *The Evening*

Post again. But finally when in search of something to do to save a living, I approached you with a letter of introduction from one of the editors of *The New Republic*, you gave me an interview and, with the concurrence of your managing editor, immediately you presented me a written hearing in *The Evening Post*. That was the dawn of a new day for India, as ever since then the case of India has never failed to receive a hearing in America.

For the last two years we have successfully maintained an organization, an office and a magazine which have been the center of all of our activities to disseminate information about India and its affairs in the United States. In this respect the co-operation of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Dial* and the *New York Call* has been most valuable, for which I take this opportunity of expressing my personal gratitude to the editors of these papers. Equally valuable has been the co-operation of Liberal, Radical and Labor organizations.

When I landed in America the problem of India was a domestic problem of the British Empire. Few Americans knew anything about conditions in India. At the present moment it is an international problem which engages, more or less, the human peace of the world, and so the right solution of which every human being is immediately or unconsciously interested. India is a vast country with unlimited resources and possibilities, isolated by accident of the human race. The world cannot be safe for democracy without India being democratic, nor can the world ever think of a durable and lasting peace without the problem of India being solved to the satisfaction of

the Indian people. The present condition of India is a menace to the peace of the world and certainly so to its development as democratic land. India has much to give not only in raw materials, food, metals and merchandise, but also in ideas and ideals. Europe is at the zenith of its power and glory, but in what and in what power and glory it is must be spent in destruction or in disintegration and in the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The human mind never learns to think and act in terms of universal good, and so that free India can learn as well as teach. It is a criminal waste of human possibilities and possibilities to let the minds of 300,000,000 human beings who have been the builders and developers of a marvelous civilization sit in defeat and despair. Help them, India and gentlemen, in freeing their bodies and minds from the bondage imposed upon them partly by a ruthless imperial system and partly by their own antiquated ideas, and they will be valuable allies in the struggle for human progress which you are carrying on with all your might and main.

We hear as if we will against the British people. We harbor no grudge against any country. We hate none, not even our enemies. Our religion, our ethics, the whole spirit of our culture is against anger and hatred. We wage no war against anyone. But we are determined to come into our own, to be free to live our own life. We shall rather be dominated and exploited and used and deceived by any one—no eyes by agents, much less by human beings who are swayed by selfish and national interests and who, motivated by the love of power, cannot resist

their desire for gain. We have in the past suffered with patience without making an effective protest, but no longer will we suffer without making our voice ring in heaven and over the earth and without disturbing the peace and pleasure of those who want to sit in as laziness of wood and darkness of water for them. Our men outside India have shown that they can play a part, however insignificant it may be at present, in joining hands with those that choose to disturb the peace of the world. Our men on the battlefields have shown that they can fight as valiantly and as desperately as any other people on the face of the globe. Last but not least, our people at home have proved that they can unite to make their protest effective and that of their own free will and unforced law, our youth every some day feel compelled to make their protest more effective by means other than strikes and indignation meetings.

Laurel and Garlands, I am now in the afternoon of life, but even when my body was palming with the wear of youth I was never contented away by mere theories, dogmas and dreams. I am full conscious of the night of Great Britain. I am equally conscious of our present helplessness to withstand that night. I recognize the facts as they are. I do not live in a chaotic blood-dred. Personally I have nothing but respect and appreciation for British character. I have my friends among them. Speaking for myself I shall be contented if my country shall be given a position of democratic equality within the British Commonwealth, enjoying the same rights and privileges, no less and no more, which are at the present moment

being enjoyed by Canada and South Africa. With that as the immediate goal (and who can say what the remote goal may be) I can look forward with hope to the day when the whole world will be one commonwealth of the people of the earth guaranteeing liberty, equality and democracy, to all the nations of the world, without distinction of color, creed or race. I am under no delusion, my friends, as to the kind of liberty and equality you, "the freest people on earth," are at present enjoying. Never before in the history of the world was it so well demonstrated as now that, truly speaking, there can be no equality and liberty on any plane on this globe as long as anywhere in the world there are masters and slaves, employers and employed, oppressors and oppressed, capitalists and proletarians, so long as there are exploiters and exploited. The road to progress is blocked by the corpse of dead ideas and ideals and by the bodies of dying principles and beliefs. The living and the dying are both struggling for relief from the smell and cancer of a polluted atmosphere which is suffocating and smothering multitudes who are yet alive and yearning to live. Humanity is engaged in a death struggle. All honor to those of you who are giving your best to free the human race from bondage, to bring about an era of universal fair play and justice and brotherhood. I can assure you of the sympathy and co-operation of 300,000,000 fellow subjects and fellow struggles in India. Extend to them your invitation and your sympathy, and you will find that co-operation valuable and may be in certain aspects decisive.

Mr. Rai's Work in America

By J. T. RUTHERFORD.

(A Personal Interview)

After a sojourn in America of nearly five years, Mr. Rai has taken his departure for India. His going gives occasion to his many friends here, and would be very deeply regretted were it not for his conviction that now his duty calls him home, and that, however much anxious he may have been able to express in India by advocating her cause in America, he now can do more for her by again taking his place by the side of those who are toiling, struggling, and suffering for her freedom and her advancement of her own end. Many Indians in giving the readers, in the pages preceding this, so many public and deserved tributes to Mr. Rai from persons of eminence, who love and honor him and who greatly value the work done by him in this country, that I should feel at superfluous to add anything were it not for the close personal relations which I have been permitted to have with him, and the duty which has been laid upon me of taking up, in such measure as I may be able, a part of the work here that his going away has compelled him to lay down.

I count it one of the great privileges of my life that I have been permitted to be associated so intimately with Mr. Rai during most of his stay in America. A man of higher personal character, of more absolutely unselfish love for his country, or of nobler moral and political ideals I have seldom if ever known. These years of his voluntary self-sacrifice from his native land

have been years of constant and strenuous, and well for India. The amount of work he has accomplished has been amazing, and I want to say, that, in my judgment, no importance can hardly be overestimated.

If India is ever to take the place that she deserves among the nations of the world, she must become better known. The world must be made aware of her great history, her great art and literature, her great philosophers, her great civilization. Perhaps the leading reason why the world's knowledge of her is so inadequate is that she is a subject land, a dependency, and not a free and independent nation. In other words, because she is subject to another power and not independent she is thought of by the world as commonplace.

For the same reason she is virtually unrecognized. The information that comes to us and to the world about her, comes largely from the nation that holds her in subjugation, it is impossible, therefore, that it should be unbiased. The master can seldom, if ever, be just in his representation of those whom he holds in bondage.

Who shall make India better known, and known for what she really is? Who, if not her own men?

When Baburamch Tager came to this country and landed up and down the land, after having public attention drawn on him by his Nobel prize, he gave to America a wholly new idea of

India, through his the great superiority of the American people obtained their first glimpse of that great India, that real India, which for three thousand years has been the intellectual and spiritual leader of the world's greatest continent. The same kind of service to India has been rendered by Lajpat Rai.

If India is ever to be free, one of the indispensable agencies in bringing it about must be a world-wide public sentiment favorable to her freedom. In the course of the last Great Britain will not create such a sentiment, indeed ever since she obtained possession of India she has been busy endeavoring to create a world wide sentiment of the very opposite nature. Not in this strange. If she desired to be justified in the eyes of mankind in holding India in subjugation, of course it was necessary for her to convince the world that the people of India are intellectually and morally inferior, are low in their civilization, and therefore are unfit to govern themselves. This she has succeeded in doing. Here is the ground for her claim that she is not wronging India, but conferring upon her a great boon when for age after age she rules her people of their freedom and forces them to submit to a foreign yoke. The world can be taught that all this is false, that India not only has a right to be free, but a right for liberty, and that holding her in bondage is a crime against humanity.

Who must teach the world this? I answer again—Her own men. This is the patriotic task which for five million years Mr. Lajpat Rai has been fulfilling in America, with rare devotion and with great ability.

Now, that he is gone, who will take

up his task? Nobody can fill his place, and yet the work that he has begun here will not be allowed to stop. He has awakened not a few Americans of influence to a realization of the wrongs of his native land, and of her just claims to be free. There will be a growing power in creating a public sentiment here favorable to freedom in India. Such a public sentiment in America, if it can be made strong, will not be subdued by the British government.

Mr. Rai's work in this country has been of several different kinds.

1. He has written three books on India which are of permanent value, besides two pamphlets of some importance for the time being. These three volumes, as our readers know, are entitled, "Young India," "England's Debt to India," and "The Political Future of India." The material of these for a time was furnished gratuitously through the media—strongly enough; but the books have now been fitted, and all are freely obtainable. It is an extravagance to say that these three books are by far the most important that up to this time have been published in this country, as sources of thoroughly trustworthy information regarding political and economic (and to some extent social) India, not only at the present time, but during the whole period of British rule.

2. Mr. Rai has written much for the periodical press of this country, concerning current misrepresentations about India and giving much information of permanent value.

3. He has lectured somewhat extensively and given a large number of public addresses in New York and elsewhere.

4. Two years ago, in co-operation with Dr. M. S. Hardiker, a graduate of one of our best American Universities, Mr. Rai organized the India Home Rule League of America, and established a monthly magazine which he named after his first book, *Young India*, at the same time opening an office for the two at 1900 Broadway, a central location in New York. In connection with the League is an Information Bureau, to furnish facts and reliable information about Indian affairs to editors of periodicals, reporters, writers, students and others, and to serve as a medium through which books on India may be ordered. Probably the establishment of these three agencies for furthering the cause of India was the most important work done by Mr. Rai while he was in America, except the writing of his books.

Of course his going away is a setback to all these activities, and yet it is contended that all shall be carried right on with as little loss of efficiency as possible. Fortunately, Dr. Hardiker does not go. He has been with Mr. Rai from the beginning of the organized work in New York, and has proved himself intelligent, broad-minded, energetic, earnest and ardently devoted to the cause of India, and to a high degree efficient. On his shoulders Mr. Rai's mantle will largely fall. From the beginning he has been the Secretary of the India Home Rule League (Mr. Rai being the President), and the Manager of *Young India* (Mr. Rai being the Editor). He will continue still to occupy the important position of the Secretary and will work on *Young India* as Managing Editor. Several Indian young men of education and ability have also

become connected with the League, with the magazine and with the Information Bureau, and they will contribute much to the efficiency of each.

As for myself, an explanatory word should be said. When the India Home Rule League was organized, at the urgent solicitation of both Mr. Rai and Dr. Hardiker I became its Vice-President, and now as the call came urgent solicitation of both these gentlemen and of the Council of the League, I have consented to take Mr. Rai's place (as far as I am able to do so), as President of the League and as Senior Editor of the magazine. I accept these positions with reluctance, not, however, because of my lack of interest in the cause they represent, but only because of my inability to discharge the duties which they involve as efficiently as I should like. I am encouraged, however, by the hope and the confident expectation that I shall have the useful co-operation of all persons in the office of the League and the Magazine, and also of not a few influential friends of India outside. Furthermore, I am permitted to expect the continued interest of Mr. Rai, and valuable assistance from him in the form of articles and letters from India. Finally and not least important, we are in receipt of many gratifying evidences that prominent leaders in India are recognizing the value of this work in America, and will extend to us important aid.

My word to the readers of *Young India*, to members of the India Home Rule League, and to all lovers of liberty, is, let us join hands to help the Indian people by all means within our power, in their arduous and just struggle for freedom.

The Servants of India Society

By N. M. JAIN, of Bombay

Delegate From the Indian Government To the International Labor Conference in Washington, D. C.

After the people of India had become self conscious, their patriotic feelings found expression in the establishment of several societies for the social and political regeneration of the country, among the number being the Indian National Congress and the National Social Conference, which came into existence in the twilight of the last century. Most of these activities were conducted by men following the professions of Law, Journalism and Medicine; but as there was could do their public work only during their leisure time and during periods of vacation, the national work lacked the strength which could come only from sustained efforts by trained workers.

The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, one of the foremost leaders of the country, clearly saw this defect, and, in readiness to some extent, he at last formed the "Servants of India Society" in the year 1905. Mr. Gokhale at that time had finished his period of his membership in the "Theosophical Society" where he had served his twenty years as a monthly salary of 25 rupees (about \$45). By his devotion to public work and close study of public questions he had attained a position of unspotted pre-eminence in the country. Having himself led a life of self sacrifice and severe discipline suited to the austere traditions and ideals of the country, he naturally made these two the basic principles of the Society. As one of the ob-

jects of Mr. Gokhale in establishing the Society was to appreciate the public life of the people so other principles would have necessarily appealed to their imagination.

The "Servants of India Society" is located in Poona, in the Bombay Presidency. The objects of the Society is set forth in its constitution and to state and supply material assistance for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of all the Indian people. Every member is pledged to devote all his time to public work, and is also under a moral obligation to remain a member of the Society for life. He is required to take the following seven vows at the time of his admission:

1. That the country shall always be the first in his thoughts, and he will give to her service the best that is in him.

2. That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

3. That he will regard all Indians as brethren and will work for the advance of all without distinction of caste or creed.

4. That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family if he has any as the country may be able to make. He will devote on part of his occupation to earning money for himself.

5. That he will lead a pure personal life.

6 That he will engage in no personal quarrel with any one.

7 That he will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with the utmost care, doing all he can to advance its work. He will never do anything which is inconsistent with the objects of the Society.

The Society was started with four life members including Mr. Gokhale. At present the number of members is twenty. The affairs of the Society are managed by the first member and a council of three elected by the members as a whole. The Society is maintained by contributions from the public, the contribution, however, having no voice in the management of the affairs of the Society. It is considered necessary that the members of the Society should be completely free to formulate its policy and guide the public conduct of its members. Every member is considered to be a member under training for the first five years, during which period he studies and does his public work under the supervision of a senior member. The work of the Society is carried on through the branches established in Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. Moreover, as the members of the Society at each branch are very few, the work is not generally done in the name of the Society, but the members are associated with other organisations doing similar work in different cities and provinces. The advantage of this system of work lies in the fact that in this way the members of the Society can secure the co-operation of a large number of persons who sympathise with their work but cannot join the "Servants of India Society" as members.

The activities of the Society may be divided into Political, Social and Economic, and workers in each of these fields undertake both propagandist and practical work. In politics the members of the Society take part in constitutional activities aimed at securing Self-Government for the people of India, for protecting the rights of the people, and for securing the removal of their political grievances. Most of the members are connected as secretaries, or in other executive capacities, with some political organisation in their respective provinces. The Hon. Mr. Shastri, president of the Society, is a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and another is a member of the Provincial Legislative Council of the Central Provinces.

The Social work of the Society consists of educating the working class, teaching them the principles of sanitation and hygiene, and securing better conditions of life for the poor. The members of the Society work for the education of women, training them as teachers and nurses, and preparing them for the medical professions. They also work for the uplift of what are considered in the country as unsavoury classes, for the abolition of the caste system, and for other movements intended to raise the level of the masses and secure equality of treatment for all irrespective of caste or sex. The members of the Society are also engaged in doing welfare work for the labourers in the factories of Bombay, and at the famous "Tata Iron Works" in the province of Bihar. In their social work the members of the Society are very closely connected with social service organisations like the Social Service League, of

Bombay, the Iron Sides, of Poona, and the Iron Sides, of Allahabad. The chief economic work of the Society consists in trying to spread the Co-operative Movement amongst the agriculturists and the working class. The members of the Society have been making efforts in this direction for the last two years. Some of them are studying other important questions. For its propaganda the Society at present owns four printing presses, publishes one daily and one weekly paper in Marathi, two weekly

papers in English, and one bi-weekly paper in Urdu. The members of the Society are also connected with two journals devoted to "co-operation," one devoted to social service and one to economics.

The above statement briefly describes the aims and objects, the policy and work of the "Servants of India Society." It is not for me to say what influence the Society exercises over the public life of India, or what amount of success it has achieved as a result of its work.

Editorial Notes

About the Congress

Cable dispatches from India are so dense that not even the London papers up to January 9 contain a worth mentioning account of the proceedings at the 34th session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar during the Christmas holidays. The only information we have on the subject is that there was a tremendous enthusiasm in the audience which was the best and the largest of its kind that had ever assembled to discuss the problems confronting the nation. There were 15,000 people all in all. Eight thousand of these were delegates including women.

Speaking on the Government of India, Mr. Jinnah recently in the British Parliament, President Mianlat Nohar said:

"The Act was not based on the wishes of the people of India. The Government left short of the minimum demands made by the Congress."

Our next issue will be a Congress Number. Besides other interesting read-

ing material and special articles we shall give a full account of the Congress at Amritsar. Also, we intend to give a chart to show how the political awakening in India has taken place during the last thirty-five years.

The Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League met at Amritsar at the same time. Mr. H. A. Khan was elected President. While visiting the members of the Muslim League Convention on relations to the broadsheet of the British in the Punjab, Mr. Khan said:—

"The incidents which occurred repeated the traditions of Chingiz Khan and Nohar Shah after a lapse of six centuries, and proved how easy it was to lay waste the sacred treasures of culture and civilisation."

His criticism of the Government of the Punjab who were responsible for the murder of thousands of the Indians) and remarked:

"The bitter poison administered by him had actually proved to be the elixir of life."

The New Act

In the time being we will let the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress deputation to England do the talking for us. His opinion on the present Government of India Act, giving what is considered to be a "large measure of Home Rule," must be considered as the opinion of the Indian nation, because he was one of those who were duly elected by the National Congress to represent the people and their concerns before the British Parliament and the British public.

At a farewell dinner given by Mr. Ben Spoor, a fellow member of the Parliament, to the Congress deputation at the House of Commons, Mr. V. J. Patel, the General Secretary of the said deputation, made an important speech. He pointed out to the honorable members of the House that the Act "did not bring any happiness or satisfaction to the people" of India.

He then went on to say:

"They were going back, however, disappointed more in that they had not achieved the immediate ends for which they came. They were disappointed in the Bill that was about to become law, because it absolutely denied to them the elementary right in determining their own destiny and refused to share all the concerns of popular liberty. It gave them not an iota of control over their central Government, it placed all executive control in the hands of the hands of bureaucratic administrators and even in those few departments where they were to be allowed to experiment in control the responsibility they were to be at the mercy of autocratic executives. SUCH A MEASURE COULD NOT BRING HAPPINESS OR SATISFACTION TO A PEOPLE WHO WERE SUFFERING AS THE PEOPLE OF INDIA WERE SUFFERING AT THAT MOMENT."

"NO ONE CARED A JOT FOR THE REFORMS IN COMPARISON WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION."

"The Crisis" on Deportation

If Washington, Jefferson and Franklin had been born in India and were living there today, what would they be doing? Exactly what the people of India are doing, trying to shake off the rule of foreign conquerors and to gain freedom for themselves and their own country. This is India's crisis, and her only crime. It is for this that several crowds which assembled for prayer and for silent protest against oppression within the past few months have been moved down by British machine guns. It is for this that women and children have been torn in pieces by British bombs dropped from the air.

Says The Crisis: "During the past three or four months several scores of Indians, living in America, have been arrested (in the migration of England) with a view to their deportation to India. If one looks home they will in effect be considered as death, for that has been the fate of their fellows at the hands of the Government that rules India." Why have these men been arrested? The Crisis answers, and answers correctly: "For exactly the thing of which Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, held in immortal memory in all America, were guilty: they have been struggling to free their country from the rule of the stranger." The Americans wish to have part in standing such men in their death!

Senator Fessenden on Deportation

On January 14 Senator Joseph Brown Fessenden, of Maryland, published an article in the *New York American* on the subject of the deportation of foreigners. We take from it the following:

passage leaving on the question of whether Hindus who have taken refuge in the United States from oppression experienced in India, and the powerful and obstinate to the laws of this country, should be arrested and sent back to their native land to suffer still more severe oppression.

Says Senator Fessenden:

"In the present time destructive criticism is the mother of the deportation of men, whom this party or that among us do not like, it is making a mad race, regardless of the principles and problems of our fundamental law. Let us examine the deportation question. Is the wholesale deportation measure that is now before Congress arbitrary? Is it consistent with the constitution of the United States, with the true spirit of democracy, or with the long and honorable traditions of this country as a land of refuge for the oppressed?"

"I ask, what serious influence are opposing interests the nation in favor of this new deportation measure? A careful reading of the bill leads one to believe that this legislation is but a plot to bring about the restoration by their deportation to their own land of those high-minded Hindus who, long before our entrance into the war, came to this country to plead for the recognition and for the right of self-determination to their own land.

"If this is the purpose of the legislation, and it seems to be, it will meet with the universal condemnation of all high-minded and right-thinking men in this Republic. Its enactment will cause throughout the country a profound sense that an injustice has been done.

"Men of the labor union and all men of liberal opinion, who have known

of the carefully laid plans to turn these high-minded Hindus over to their oppressors by deporting them to India, must make their voices heard to stop this legislation as brought, as it will be, before the Senate for consideration."

Can't Undo the Past

We make no apology for the following extract which is taken from the editorial columns of India, London, January 2, 1924:

"What opposition can we possibly make to the outraged people of India for these deeds? Is there any?"

"In one sense, there is none. We cannot undo the past. It is only a dead Christ one can appeal from His Cross."

"But we can take more conscience with all those responsible. The first one doomed upon the Government of India—that lying committee of despots whose deeds and coverings darken the fair face of the earth. Despicable as we may feel them to be, they are not the only ones upon whom the wrath of the partly awakened British people might be fall. It is the Cabinet of this country (England) which is responsible for the wrong, collectively responsible. Mr. Lloyd George was never tired of promising us truth and referring truth, over his own open earlobe. He gave us a Secretary of State

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for India who, busily engaged in enfranchising 1.5 per cent of her male population, learns from the columns of the "Daily Express" eight months after its occurrence how Indians have been butchered at Amritsar—and this in spite of the fact that he has been recently in touch with such authorities upon facts as Lord Merton and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Did Lord Merton know or not? For heavens upon earth we have been given hell upon earth in tortured India, exasperated Egypt, and indignant Ireland—to say nothing of starving Central Europe. Let us look beyond our

wreaking Chelmsfords and pitifully deluded Montagu to the chief author of the mischief. We have a Prime Minister and Government which have lowered us to a greater depth of degradation than ever before. Let us turn out this Government and get in one that will recall something of the old decent days of Palmerston, Cobden, Bright, and Gladstone, and set our house in order. Lord Roseberry's Government fell because of an insufficient supply of cordite. Let this one go because of its superabundance of coercion, brutality, concealment, and dishonesty."

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